

# *Canada's Choice*

UNITY  
or  
CHAOS

by **TIM BUCK**

T E N   C E N T S



*CANADA'S CHOICE*  
**UNITY**  
*OR*  
**CHAOS**

*by* **Tim Buck**

*National Leader, Labor-Progressive Party*



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TIM BUCK

**"The Labor-Progressive Party warns the people of Canada that peace can be secured for our children only by the full enactment of these principles of morality\* between nations, and that the utmost vigilance, strength and united pressure of the labor movement of Canada and all other countries will be required to defeat the conspiracies of reaction to thwart the desires of the peoples for peace."**

**— From the Program of the Labor-Progressive Party adopted in August, 1943.**

**\*Based upon the Atlantic Charter**

## Introduction.

**I**T is only half a year since our Constituent Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party; but in that short period far-reaching changes have taken place. These have transformed the entire world situation. They have brought forward the immediate prospect for victory in the war and they have opened up a new post-war perspective for world progress and an enduring peace.

In my closing speech at that convention I drew attention to the disturbing signs of differences within the United Nations' Alliance—particularly between the three great powers. Expressions of differences which became public showed them to be serious. Most serious of all: they derived from lack of definite agreement between the capitalist and socialist partners of the Alliance concerning the sort of world for which we should strive after victory has been won. As I pointed out: "The United Nations Alliance rests upon political agreement. It cannot be strong on any other basis." It was evident that the Alliance was being subjected to serious strain which prevented development of the mighty all-out coalition warfare of which its combined military air and naval forces were capable.

That stage has now been passed. Plans for large-scale invasion of Europe and combined offensives to defeat Nazi Germany this year are clearly far-advanced. Relationships within the United Nations, large and small, are now solidly based upon firm agreement to "work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." These great changes all flow out of the historic agreements arrived at in the conferences at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran. The main content of those agreements is expressed in the history-making Teheran declaration in which the three leaders of the United Nations jointly declare:

*"We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy."*



*"We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.*

*"As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.*

*"And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.*

*"With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own people, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.*

*"No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.*

*"Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.*

*"We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose."*

This agreement marks a turning point in the relationships between the first socialist state and the great capitalist states and, therefore, a turning point in the history of mankind.

## I. What the Teheran Agreement Means.

**T**HE agreement arrived at in the Teheran conference is important to all mankind because it provides the sole basis upon which complete democratic victory can be achieved and a just and lasting peace established. In this it meets the deepest hopes of all democratic men and women.

The Teheran agreement guarantees victory in the war. We are going to defeat Nazi Germany this year. When the fascist power is defeated and destroyed in Germany we are going to concentrate all the mighty naval, air and military forces that will then be available upon the task of completely defeating imperialist Japan.

It must be emphasized, however, that military victory has yet to be won. Our nation in common with all the

### **The Most Terrible Battles of War Yet to Come**

nations allied against the fascist Axis, stands before the task of defeating the Nazi armies this year. The invasion of Europe will involve some of the most terrible battles of the entire war. The people of Canada will feel to the full the awful impact of this struggle when our men cross the channel for the final decisive blow against Hitlerism in Europe. The supreme responsibility confronting our party, and the entire labor movement today is that of strengthening national unity in support of the men and women in Canada's forces overseas. That is also the best way to prepare Canada for the peace.

The Teheran agreement testifies to the far-reaching changes in the prospect for world peace after the war. It characterizes the marked difference between the political situation and state relationships which prevailed at the end of the first world war and those which prevail today. Then the Soviet state was isolated. All the most powerful states were joined in efforts to destroy it. Their main line of policy was characterized by anti-Soviet bias. Failing to destroy the Soviet Union by military action, imperialist policy was later directed to isolating her. This went from Clemenceau's attempts to establish a *cordon sanitaire* to

the catastrophic policy of aid to the fascist states and benevolent neutrality towards fascist aggression. This policy became known as Appeasement. It brought disaster upon the world.

The Teheran agreement, on the background of the Moscow agreements, gave formal recognition to the fact that the Soviet people have now won for themselves, through the stern test of battle, a place among the leaders in the councils of the democratic nations of the world. The Teheran agreement demonstrates the profound conviction of President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill that continued friendly cooperation between the socialist and capitalist sectors of the world is essential for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The Teheran agreement is a pledge of such cooperation. It voices the determination of the leaders of the governments of Britain, the the United States and the Soviet Union that their nations "shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow". It pledges them jointly to "seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small,

**Unity Is Guarantee of  
Victory and Lasting Peace**

whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own people, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. . . " It is a promise that the peoples of the liberated countries shall enjoy the opportunity to establish governments of their own free choice and to reconstruct their respective national economies according to their own needs and desires. The announcement of the agreement was a major step in the direction of consolidating that firm unity of the United Nations and that national unity of all democratic forces within each one of them which alone can guarantee victory. It indicates both the political framework and the economic basis for the fulfilment of the ideal of a durable peace and a world association of sovereign democratic states. It opens up possibilities for a period of great and far-reaching economic and social progress. Carried through in the spirit which now inspires the United Nations it can result in raising the level of economic activity and social progress throughout the world: complete reconstruction of Europe and parts of Asia, the building of new cities, new transportation systems, new industries and the revitalization of

cultural life. These things would mean literally the building of a new world.

We are sometimes asked: "But, will the imperialists live up to these promises?" Or we are told: "We can't trust them to live up to these promises". Such an attitude blurs the main point. The way to approach the question is not "Will they keep their promises?" but to understand that the reason why the promise is made is that the world and the balance of forces have changed. That is the main thing.

Whether it is fully carried out depends entirely upon the strength and unity of the movement for democratic progress throughout the world. Something has been gained the like of which never has been gained before. The task of democratic people all over the world is to build up and unite their forces and make sure that the high promise in the pledge will be carried out and even further progress made.

The Teheran agreement marks out the lines of national and world policy which alone will bring victory in the war and far-reaching democratic progress for all mankind.

## II. The Alternative to Fulfilment of the Teheran Agreement.

THE Teheran agreement opens up the possibilities for a durable peace and far-reaching social progress. It must be emphasized, however, that it does not by itself guarantee those things. It establishes a rallying ground upon which all democratic men and women should unite; but if the democratic forces fail to unite, reactionary forces may succeed. In that event the world would not simply revert to the conditions prevailing in 1939: we would face disaster.

The folly, or worse, of those who oppose the Teheran agreement, or fail to fight for policies based upon it, becomes evident if one considers the terrible prospect which confronts the world if policies in accord with that agreement are not carried through.

The greater part of the continent of Europe is in ruins.

The extent and catastrophic character of the devastation may be illustrated by the fact that, in the Soviet Union alone, an area which was previously populated by more than seventy million people has been almost levelled to the ground. Cities, industries, power plants, railways, mines,

**Nearly All Europe  
Has Been Devastated**

fineries, communication lines, highways, even farms, have been destroyed. When the fighting comes to an end in Europe other vast areas will have been similarly devastated. Tens of millions of people will be homeless. The need for elementary necessities will be urgent. Hunger, disease and dispersal, will have exhausted the resources of the civilian population. The people will have neither the food and other consumers goods to meet their urgent needs nor material and equipment for economic reconstruction. They will not be able to rebuild their shattered cities, transportation systems and industries, out of their own resources.

At the end of this war the world's capacity for production of capital goods will be largely concentrated in the countries of the United Nations. Germany and France will still have a part of their heavy industry but the only countries which will have an exportable surplus of capital goods will be the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. These three countries will be the main sources of manufactured consumers goods also. Thus, in the devastated areas there will be an absolutely desperate need for goods, while in the United States, Canada and Britain there will be a desperate need for outlets for goods.

In this there lie tremendous possibilities for mutual aid but there is also the basis for policies which could only lead to renewed imperialist conflict. The alternative to international cooperation in rebuilding the devastated areas by mutual aid in the

**A Renewal of  
Imperialist Rivalry  
Would Be Calamitous**

spirit of the Teheran agreement is struggle between the great states for advantage in the liberated countries and sharpening conflict, the results of which would be calamitous for all mankind.

The conscience of the world and the growing determination to abolish the causes of war must forbid this. The desperate needs of the peoples of Europe and the Far

East must not again become the subject of imperialist rivalries. But they must be helped! Re-establishment of the national economies of the liberated countries is the indispensable pre-requisite to solid social advance. Unless they are helped, freely and on a grand scale, in the spirit of the Teheran agreement, there is serious danger that vast areas will be plunged into social chaos and civil war. Policies which lead to that would also lead to war between nations and a third world war.

The terrible results of such a retrogression could not be limited to Europe and the Far East. The economic and social conditions in North America will be intimately related to world post-war development and North American participation in it. On a world scale our alternatives are: a stable peace with world-wide progress through inter-

### **A New World**

### **vs. a New World War**

national cooperation, versus economic and social chaos, civil war, wars between nations and a third world war. In domestic policy the alternatives are: prosperity and far-reaching social reforms made possible by international cooperation and mutual aid, versus mass unemployment, a declining standard of life, economic crisis and the drive for foreign policies which would lead to a new world war. In other words, the building of a new world versus a drive towards a new world war. Such are the immediate alternatives confronting North America and the world.

It is necessary that we review our policies and our tactical decisions in the light of the great change that has taken place since our convention. This meeting of the National Committee must decide how the Labor-Progressive Party can best help Canada to participate fully in both the economic development and the democratic progress envisaged at Teheran.

### **For Trade Unionists**



"... The trade union movement can influence national policy to a far greater extent than is usually recognized. Its influence in national policies has increased to a marked extent during the war. . . . By united action the trade unions can become a powerful force in the interests of the nation . . ."

(See page 39 and 40)

### III. The Enemies of Post War Cooperation.

**I**N various quarters voices are raised against policies in accord with the spirit and letter of the Teheran agreement.

Open opposition to policies based upon the Teheran agreement comes from reactionary interests striving for narrow selfish advantage. These interests are powerful in the United States and in Britain and they have their supporters in high places in Canada.

Speaking in Seattle, Washington, last Thursday, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace of the United States characterized these elements as the incipient fascists. He warned his audience against the danger that this fascist camp will try to lead the world astray again after this war, into another world-wide depression and a third world war. Furthermore, he warned his audience: "It IS possible for an incipient American fascism to precipitate a depression which will defeat all the desires of labor and government and most of business".

Can anybody deny that exactly the same dangers exist in Canada? Evidence of its existence is to be seen in every city and almost every phase of public affairs. There is a grouping of powerful interests seeking to secure control of Canada so as to get back to policies similar to those which prevailed before the war. This is the political centre of the widespread propaganda which misrepresents the

**Powerful Groups**

**Seek Control by**

**Raising False Issues**

labor movement. The propaganda which represents the C.I.O. as a destructive force; the lying propaganda about a "communist plot" to call a

general strike at the end of the war; the propaganda which pretends that "Free Enterprise" is in danger in Canada and strives to divide our people over the artificially created issue of "Socialism versus Free Enterprise". That is the political essence of all the propaganda raising doubts and suspicions as to the possibility of the Canadian people solving their postwar problems unitedly and as to the possibility of continuing cooperation between the Soviet

Union and the rest of the United Nations in the post-war period.

In Canada, as in Britain and the United States, Tory elements representing sinister anti-democratic interests are opposed to the domestic policies which alone can make the international policies envisaged at Teheran possible. These interests are prepared to destroy national unity to secure narrow class or party advantage. Powerful influences among them still base their attitude upon the aim of

securing imperialist advantage out of the war. In Canada this attitude is most clearly indicated in the narrow, jingoistic, anti-foreign, anti-Soviet diatribes of sections of the press, exemplified by the Toronto Evening Telegram and similar papers French and English. It is exemplified in the reckless, self-seeking manner in which the Tory interests exploit the pseudo-socialist propaganda of the C.C.F., to divide the nation over the false issue of "socialism vs. free enterprise." It was reflected in much of the press and radio commentary upon the attitude of the British and United States governments towards the Soviet-Polish frontier dispute.

Another not so obvious but potentially serious danger to national unity and full development of policies for international cooperation in post-war reconstruction lies in the wide-spread skepticism among the workers, farmers and progressive urban middle class people, concerning the intentions of the government and big business. The obstacles to full development of the policies made possible by the Teheran agreement are to be found everywhere where there is opposition to or skepticism concerning the essential need for national unity to win the war.

### **Socialism Now ?**

"... Establishment of socialism is not an immediate issue in Canada; it will not be in the immediate post-war period. Certain specific objective conditions must exist to make the question of socialism an immediate issue and they do not as yet exist in Canada . . . The majority of Canadians are not yet ready to support a fundamental transformation of the national economy. . ."

(See page 35)

### **Skepticism Can Also Be A Serious Danger**



## IV. Canada in the Struggle for Victory and a Lasting Peace.

**D**EMOCRATIC Canadians welcomed the changes which took place during the second half of 1943. A surge of pride swept over the nation when Canadian troops joined the famous Eight Army in Italy. There has been a renewal of confidence — and of the national pledge that our men overseas shall receive everything that modern science and human skill can provide.

Our nation's war effort has been the cause for deep national pride. More than 800,000 men and women have been enrolled in the armed forces. A full army corps is fighting in Italy. Canadian naval units are performing more than half of all the work of guarding convoys in the North Atlantic. The Royal Canadian Air Force is a proud partner with the R.A.F. and the U.S. Army Air Force in the smashing air offensive against Nazi Germany.

The productivity of Canadians in industry and agriculture continues to increase. Canada's production in 1943 totalled 8.7 billion dollars, over half of which was used for the war. The record shows continually growing support for war activities such as victory loans, blood donations etc.

### ***The Problem of Lay-offs Is a Warning to Labor***

Our national economy is beginning to reflect the progress towards a victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. Except in the field of aircraft production, Canadian industry has passed the peak of its war production effort. Lay-offs from sections of war industry are warning the labor movement that reconversion of industry back to civilian production will soon become a problem of immediate concern. This is bringing forward the entire question of post-war policy and prospects. Employment, trade union participation in the transfer of workers from war to peace time jobs, measures for the civil re-establishment of men and women released from the armed services, policies to maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people, all these problems are coming forward as we approach victory in the war.

The speech from the Throne submitted to Parliament on January 27th reflected both the dangers and the high hopes of this crucial year. Its opening sentences struck the following note of warning: "The war is now in its fifth year. The coming months will witness decisive battles. They will demand a supreme effort on the part of all nations united in the cause of freedom". Every democratic Canadian will agree with those words. Our sons and

**National Unity for Victory**  
**— the Supreme Need**

brothers in the armed forces and our role as a nation in the United Nations alliance compel us to recognize that the supreme need within Canada is still national unity to win the war.

The Throne speech also reflected the profound change that has taken place in the world situation since our national convention. "While giving to the needs of the war precedence over all else", it declared, "my ministers are resolved that, so far as the future can be foreseen, Canada will be in a position to meet the difficult situation which will have to be faced as victory is won".

The legislative program proposed in the speech is a definite effort to assure Canadians—during this the conclusive stage of the war in Europe—that social security and better standards of living will be achieved after victory has been won. The intent of the address in this respect was emphasized in the following sentence:

"While the post-war objective of our external policy is world security and general prosperity, the post-war objective of our domestic policy is social security and human welfare".

The labor movement and all progressive people welcome the objectives indicated in that statement of aims. But social security legislation, urgently needed as it is, will remain utterly inadequate unless measures are also adopted to ensure full employment.

**Full Employment Essential**  
**To Social Security Measures**

The central problem of post-war policy in Canada will be the problem of providing jobs. There are sentences in the Address which may indicate policies to ensure large-scale employment. The question being asked now, on all sides, is: "Can we hope that such policies will be carried through?" The task of the labor

movement is to see that the legislation promised and implied in the speech from the Throne is put on the statute books during this session.

We welcome Mackenzie King's assurance to the House of Commons that he will not call a general election before victory has been achieved if it can be avoided. Mr. King was right when he said: "The people of Canada do not want a general election at this time of war. Our men fighting overseas do not want an election if it can be avoided, until after victory is achieved and we are in a position to welcome them and all our armed forces home . . ."

The legislative proposals suggested in the speech from the Throne, on the background of the new perspective now opening, will compel every political party to review its proposals for war and post-war policy. Each political party must accept part responsibility for strengthening national unity now, during the crucial days of the war, and for enacting the legislation indicated in the speech from the Throne.

***How Shall the Policies of  
Parties Be Judged?***

Victory in Europe will bring forward problems as great as were the problems brought forward by the war.

The test by which the policies of parties and the statements of their leaders will be judged in the period ahead is: "*Do they strengthen national unity for victory now and do they offer reasonable assurance of jobs for all in the post-war reconstruction of the world?*"

Domestic and foreign policies in accord with the agreement arrive dat in Teheran will ensure those objectives. Such policies will be carried through, however, only if the nation is united upon the basic question of sustained Canadian cooperation with the Socialist state as well as the states of the United Nations in re-establishing the shattered economy of the old world.

Mr. Edward L. Stettinius has emphasized the need for this in the following words:

"Lend-Lease operations, as we know them, now, will some day draw to a close, but we know already that the principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest that is embodied in the Lend-Lease Act must live on. Today there is more unity of

purpose and of action among freedom-loving peoples than ever before. In that unity we can find the strength to build a peaceful world in which freedom and opportunity will be secure for all".\*

It would be folly to ignore the obstacles to such co-operation. The measure of cooperation now existing between Canada and the U.S.S.R. was brought about by the threat of a Hitler victory and our mutual determination to prevent it. The unity and cooperation which now guarantees United Nations victory is the measure of mutual determination to subordinate all other considerations to the task of defeating the Axis. The conclusive reason for continuation of United Nations' unity and cooperation after the Axis has been defeated, is the awful prospect of economic chaos, civil war and a third world war which will probably engulf the world if the Teheran agreement is not carried through.

Irresponsible elements, including several spokesmen and publications of the C.C.F., misrepresent proposals for national unity around policies based upon the Teheran agree-

***Is the Teheran Agreement  
A Betrayal of Socialism?***

ment as a betrayal of Socialism. Their assertions reveal a failure to understand the historic, all-sided, world embracing character of the struggle for Socialism. They reveal a failure to grasp the fact that we are living through a crucial period. The reconstruction of Europe, with the people of all nations enjoying the right freely to elect governments of their own choice, will be the immediately decisive need when victory is won. Without that there can be no hope for durable political advance in the discernible future. Studied in the light of facts the Teheran agreement stands out as the sole basis for durable peace and continued progress after the war.

Domestic policies based upon the perspective of world progress through socialist-capitalist cooperation in aiding the liberated nations as envisaged in the Teheran agreement, can be assured only by the fullest possible measure of national unity. This imposes solemn obligations upon all classes, all political parties and all sections of Canada's

\* United States Undersecretary of State in first State Department broadcast.

### French Canada



"... The danger to the people of Quebec and to the prospects for strengthening national unity, lies in the fact that in their desire for improvement, masses of the people of Quebec are turning towards the Bloc Populaire—the leaders of which are pursuing a line dangerously similar to the line followed by the leaders of all fascist movements in their early stages..."

(See page 31)

people. It will be necessary to fight for national unity in Canada after the war.

The level of economic activity and national income necessary to provide reasonable assurance of a job for every man, woman and youth who wants work, prosperity for farmers and urban middle class people, and social security for all, can be maintained only through policies deliberately based upon the cooperation and possibilities envisaged in the Teheran agreement. Such policies will be carried through in Canada only if national unity is maintained on the basis of a frank recognition that

the prospect is for continuance of capitalist relationships during the post-war years.

## V. National Unity — the Antithesis of "Class Collaboration".

**T**O frankly recognize and emphasize that the post-war prospect is for continuance of capitalist relations in Canada does not mean to give up our ultimate objective of Socialism. On the contrary, the first requirement of a serious approach to the struggle for Socialism is the ability to see the objective political realities of the existing situation and to grapple with those realities in the manner that is best calculated to strengthen the working class.

That is the answer also to those who imagine that to advocate national unity is to advocate "class-collaborationism."

Class collaboration in the classic sense of the term means subordination of the class interests of the workers

to the class interests of the capitalist class. Class collaboration is the method by which narrow groups among the workers sometimes secure sectional interests at the expense of the general interests of the working class as a whole. That is the source and root of opportunism in the labor movement which we have always combatted, which we must continue to expose and condemn.

**Serves Interests of Working  
Class, Farmers, Middle Class**

Contrary to class collaboration policies, national unity is the policy by which the class interests of the working class as a whole will be served, by cooperation with the democratic circles of all classes and all sections of the Canadian people including a decisive section of the capitalist class in carrying through the economic and political measures which alone will ensure continual democratic progress and without which there is the gravest danger that fascist-minded elements will come to power.

Such a policy can be carried through, not by weakening the labor movement or blunting its political consciousness, but only by consistent and rapid strengthening of labor's role in national affairs and in the shaping of national policies.

**Labor Must Be Treated  
As a Full Partner**

Thus, class collaboration sacrifices the class interests of the workers, stifles the initiative of the labor movement and divides the workers into antagonistic groups. National unity now, to win the war and around policies in accord with the Teheran agreement in the post-war period, serves the highest interests of the working class, the farmers and urban middle class people. It demands the greatest possible democratic initiative on the part of the labor movement. It can be maintained only with the broadest possible unity of the entire working class with all other democratic forces. It is obvious that national unity in support of policies based upon the perspective opened up by the Teheran agreement is the very antithesis of the correctly condemned policy of class collaborationism.

Neither does the fight for national unity mean to ignore the need for very marked changes in government policy. There is grave need for change in the policies of the King government. A glaring illustration of this fact was

provided by what almost amounted to a revolt of Liberal M.P.'s against King's Wage Consolidation Order. That Order is in contradiction to the entire Reform Program included in the speech from the Throne. The Liberal M.P.'s who condemned that Order in their speeches in the debate on the Throne speech were not fighting against national unity; on the contrary, they were doing the very thing necessary if national unity is to be strengthened and continued in the post-war period. What is needed is more action of the same sort.

One of the first needs if national unity is to be strengthened is for Mackenzie King to change his labor policy and treat labor as a partner in the nation's war effort.

## VI. The Crucial Issue of Post War Policy.

**W**HAT are the policies around which the unity of the nation can be maintained in the post-war period? They will be determined by the issues which confront the nation. The focal problem of the post-war period, upon solution of which the overwhelming majority of the nation must be united, is that of our national economic policy. This will involve, of course, the related problems of maintaining a high level of employment, and production at home, and a high rate of exports to foreign markets.

Experience during the war has shown that Canada can produce enough to provide a higher standard of life for our people. But the fact that we have been able to double production while three quarters of a million of our youngest and strongest are in uniform is a serious warning of the magnitude of the problem which will confront us when the fighting stops.

When those young Canadians are demobilized there will no longer be an insatiable demand for arms, munitions and equipment. Upwards of a million men and women will be released from war industries. The demand for agricultural products will no longer flow out of the impelling needs of war. Then we shall have to consume, or find export outlets for, almost double the amount of goods that we produced during 1939 or suffer a very serious crisis.

The problem of maintaining full employment after the war will be vastly different from what it was during the

pre-war years. Its solution will require important changes in governmental policy.

Our capacity to produce has been stepped up to a tremendous extent. When the fighting men are demobilized

**How Shall We Maintain  
Full Employment?**

from the armed services, we shall be able to produce as much of everything as we produced in 1939 with two million Canadians unemployed. It is self-evident that Canadian economy will not provide social security and a rising standard of living with such a large proportion of the population on relief. One of the first needs, therefore, is for national policies through which the government guarantees the people against such a disaster.

The question of how we can continue to produce and dispose of approximately the same amount of goods in peace time as we are producing today is the crucial question that we shall then face as a nation. If we solve that problem successfully, in a democratic way, we shall have taken a long stride towards a happier and more prosperous Canada.

Wartime experience has proven conclusively that we can solve the problem in an orderly democratic way. To do so, we must maintain a level of economic activity which keeps the national income approximately as high as it has been during the war. This question of the level of economic activity is simultaneously the decisive question of jobs. The relationship between the level of economic activity and the level of employment is too definite to need any explanation.

Is there a possibility of establishing a level of industrial activity which will provide full employment in the post-war years? Yes, there is, and the outlines of the policies which will enable Canada to maintain such a level are becoming increasingly clear.

**For CCF Members**

"... We must call upon every member of the CCF, who sincerely desires to see the CCF become a constructive force in the general struggle for human progress, to do what he or she can to bring about a change in these (i.e. anti-unity) policies expressed by the leaders of the CCF . . ."

(See page 37)



Steady full employment will be possible during the post-war period only if the government initiates and carries through great undertakings.

### **Must Carry Through Great Public Works**

Modernization and reconstruction of our cities. Abolition of slums. Homes for the people, hospitals, schools, libraries and recreational centres. Huge public works such as the St. Lawrence Waterway, development of our vast potential hydro-electric power resources, rural electrification, irrigation of prairie lands, development of our rich natural resources, reconstruction of our national transportation systems and modern highways. Carrying through these and other great public works which Canada needs will provide jobs at socially necessary work for tens of thousands and generate increasing activity throughout the entire industry and agriculture of the nation. It will maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people. It will increase both the national production and the nation's power to consume.

It will require bold national policies based squarely upon the needs of Canada's people and the experience of the war, carried through in the spirit of crusades. With such policies, full employment can be maintained and with maintenance of full employment we can maintain the national income also.

To operate at a high level and raise the standard of living in the post-war period Canada must export vast quantities of industrial as well as agricultural products. The basis for such huge exports has been entirely changed by the war. As pointed out earlier, the entire continent of Europe has been devastated by the war. Across a vast area of that continent cities, railways, mines, factories, in some cases even farms have been completely destroyed.

### **Half the Industrialized World Will Need Rebuilding**

The same is true of huge areas of China and other parts of the Far East. The cities, industries, railways, communications systems, harbors and highways of half the industrialized part of the world will need to be rebuilt when the fighting stops. In vast areas of other parts of the world the need for railways, machinery and equipment for industry as well as the urgent need for food and clothing will be almost without limit.

Donald Nelson, Chairman of the United States War

Production Board, states the case as follows: "By sending those people, on fair terms, the machinery with which to develop, by giving them gladly and unstintingly of our knowledge and experience, we shall achieve friendship and co-operation that diplomacy alone cannot hope to realize."

Such a prospect involves the prospect of Canada giving either free gifts or long term credits to the extent of billions of dollars to help in rebuilding the world. The prospect opens up the possibility of a high level of economic activity for years after the war. If the task of post-war reconstruction is approached in the same spirit as the United Nations are now approaching the task of winning the war, the world will enter a period of tremendous economic expansion. Industrialization of countries now undeveloped, raising of the standard of life of a thousand million people and advance towards a higher political stage in the world as a whole. Such is the tremendous vista of human progress which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin opened up to the world by their historic agreement at Teheran. The Labor-Progressive Party will strive to make Canada a vital force in carrying that agreement through.

Is it possible to achieve national unity in Canada for the carrying through of such policies? Indeed it is. One of the best pieces of evidence to show that it is possible is to be seen in the changing tone and character of opinions expressed by many leading spokesmen of the capitalist class. One of the most outstanding of these comes from no less a person than Mr. Morris W. Wilson, president of the Royal Bank of Canada. Addressing the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Royal Bank on January 13th in Montreal Mr. Wilson made the following significant statement concerning post-war rehabilitation and the policies which he thinks Canada should pursue:

***The Changing Views  
Of Some Capitalist Leaders***

"I personally believe that large outright gifts of food, raw materials, finished goods and machinery to backward and devastated countries will in the long run, and even from the most selfish point of view, not only contribute most to human welfare, but both in the short and long run be in the best interests of those nations which can afford to make the gifts.

"If this is too much to expect of human beings in their present stage of development, the alternative must be loans on a very large scale on long and easy terms, or probably a combination of both loans and gifts. I think such loans would have to be to governments, because the management of an international fund presumably under the control of the great powers could hardly expect to decide on the merits of individual applicants, and, even if they did, would doubtless in due course be accused of attempting to influence internal business policies or trends".

Do not underestimate the significance of those words. They illustrate the fact that the more far-sighted men among those who dominate Canadian economy are realizing that the problems of the peace will be tremendous, that failure to solve these problems will entail almost equally grave dangers as we are facing in the war; but that if the United Nations will grapple with the post-war problems in the same spirit that they are grappling with the economic problems of the war, there is a possibility to avoid deep post-war crises which otherwise would be inevitable.

## VII. The Path of Democratic Progress.

**W**E are living through days of epochal change. The character of the war and the influence of the labor movement upon changing national policies makes it our duty to emphasize the problems which must be solved if the path towards our ultimate objective is to be kept open. Canada can be kept in the main stream of progressive world action only if the great majority of the nation is united around policies based upon the prospect opened up by the Teheran agreement. Such policies provide the basis for continued national and United Nations unity. They are also the policies which will enable mankind to advance in democratic freedom, through far-reaching social reforms to that stage in which the people, through their own experience, will realize the need for Socialism.

In this situation serious working-class leadership bases

its proposals upon a sober estimate of what are the most advanced proposals that the majority of democratic Canadians will support.

One thing is clear. While the majority of people are not yet ready to support abolition of the profit system they do want change. A careful study of their attitudes and reaction, combined with the public records of the Gallup Poll and such like mirrors of public opinion, makes one thing absolutely clear. *The people of Canada have no intention of allowing this country to revert back to the policies and conditions of 1939 if they can to anything to prevent it.*

The expressed desires of the great majority of people may be summed up in the following demands which literally every organized group of farmers, workers and progressive middle class people are endorsing and elaborating all across the country.

## **1. Jobs for All When the War Is Over!**

The first demand put forward by all sections of the democratic people is that our government shall introduce policies to provide a reasonable assurance that every man and woman who wants to work when this war is over shall be able to get a job.

## **2. Opportunities for the Youth in the Post-War Years**

Tied in with the demand for jobs goes the sharpening demand for measures to ensure that our youth, particularly the young men and women who gave up their training to join the armed forces, shall be guaranteed opportunities for careers in the Canada that we shall build after this war. The young generation of Canada is giving unstintingly of itself so that the scourge of Naziism may be destroyed. We are justly proud of our great Army, Navy and Air force staffed by the flower of Canada's youth. It is now while the war is on that we must pledge that Canada's young generation shall never return to the shameful days of the hunger treks, rod-riding and hopelessness.

We must now assure each and every young man and young woman in uniform that they will return to jobs, to possibilities to continue their interrupted education and training for trades and to conditions conducive to the happiness they so richly deserve.

In the post-war we must make sure of improved educa-

tional facilities, of vocational training and ample recreational opportunities. Youth is entitled to the best the nation can offer for the young of today are the nation's producers and leaders of tomorrow.

### 3. Prosperity for the Farmers

The farmers have increased their production of food magnificently in response to the cry for food for the armies, food for Britain, and food to feed the starving millions of Europe and Asia. They want government policies to provide them with a fair chance to make a decent living. They want adequate prices for farm products. They want an assurance that the prices for their products will be maintained in a stable relationship to the prices they must pay for manufactured goods. They want markets for their products. They know as a result of the war that such markets can be maintained by raising the standard of living at home and adopting policies of international co-operation which will provide steadily expanding markets for the products of Canada's fruitful farms.

### 4 Complete Provisions for Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment

The people of Canada want national policies that will provide the fullest assurance for complete civil re-establish-

ment to the men and women of the armed forces. The debt we owe to these men and women cannot be measured in money. But the people of Canada want these young men and women to be guaranteed opportunities for education or retraining to learn a trade or profession. They want them to receive pay and allowances until the opportunity to earn a living is available. They want every man and woman demobilized from the army to receive an adequate de-

#### For Youth



"... It is now while the war is on that we must pledge that Canada's young generations shall never return to the shameful days of the hunger treks, rod-riding and hopelessness . . . Youth is entitled to the best the nation can offer. . ."

(See page 27)

mobilization gratuity. They want those who are incapacitated or partly incapacitated and the dependents of those who have fallen to receive generous pensions which will eliminate the danger of want.

## 5. Social Security for All

The people of Canada want Dominion government policies which will provide social security for every man, woman and child in the country. The war has shown that every child born in Canada could be guaranteed adequate nutrition, adequate medical care, efficient education and hospitalization. Every adult man and woman could be guaranteed protection against unemployment, adequate widowed mothers' allowances, free medical care and hospitalization and adequate old age pensions for every Canadian who reaches the age of 60. The people of Canada believe these things are possible and they want a Dominion Government which they believe will provide these things right away.

## 6. Bring Our Constitution Up to Date

The people want some assurance that constitutional difficulties will not be used as an excuse for enactment of emasculated versions of the social legislation they need. Millions of Canadians remember how the British North America Act was used to block sorely needed reforms in the 1930's. They fear repetition of such tactics.

Canada's Constitution should be brought up to date, as proposed in our brief to the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1937. Social services should be a Dominion responsibility. With the marked discrepancies in various provinces, the standard of social services should not be dependent upon local conditions. Canada must have the right to amend her own constitution. The present situation, in which amendments can be made only by the British House of Commons,

### **For Armed Forces**



"... We must now assure each and every young man and young woman in uniform that they will return to jobs, to possibilities to continue their education and training for trades and to conditions conducive to the happiness they so richly deserve . . ."

(See page 28)

is in contradiction to Canada's place in world affairs. It is absolutely essential that the principle of national rights and adequate safeguards to protect basic provincial and cultural rights, particularly the language, religious, educational and civil law rights prized by the people of French Canada must be provided. With such safeguards and an established method and procedure for constitutional amendment, the restrictive clause in the Statute of Westminster which now provides that our Constitution can be amended only by the British House of Commons should be removed.

## 7. Base Our Foreign Policies Upon Canada's Interests

What has been said above concerning the need to bring our Constitution up to date is true in principle about Canada's foreign policies also.

Canada is now one of the most important of the small nations. Mackenzie King declared some time ago that we shall emerge from this war as a power. One of the vital needs in the shaping and carrying through of our national policies is that our foreign policies, and the relationships which grow out of them, shall be formulated in Canada on the basis of Canada's interests, shall be administered directly by the government of this country and shall be under control of its House of Commons.

We have urged this consistently for many years. It is written into the history of our movement. Because of this we welcomed Mackenzie King's blunt rejection of the proposals for imperial centralization advanced by Lord Halifax recently. We and the overwhelming majority of Canadians reject Halifax's implied proposals to build up an imperialist power bloc. Such a policy could only lead to a revival of imperialist power politics and rivalries—and eventually war. The ideal towards which Canada's foreign policy should aim is that of Canada playing a democratic role as a sovereign state in a world association of sovereign states.

Such an ideal does not exclude or contradict continued Canadian membership in the British Commonwealth; on the contrary, it envisages development of Canada's role in the Commonwealth to one of increasing importance. A member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, next door neighbor to the United States and a friendly near neighbor to the great confederation of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canada can and should become a link between the great

democratic powers. To do that effectively she must not be subordinate in any way to any one of them. Canada's foreign policy must be based squarely upon Canada's national interests and needs.

## VIII. French Canada and the Teheran Agreement.

**T**HE people want definite and straightforward action to abolish the inequalities which still persist in French Canada. Policies based upon the perspectives opened up by the Teheran agreement will aid in abolishing them. Raising the standard of living, public education and social services in Quebec and the other areas where intolerably low levels now prevail, will increase the purchasing power of a third of the nation. This will be a big factor in helping to solve the problem of the domestic market for Canadian goods after the war.

There is a growing consciousness among democratic people in English Canada that this is a matter of concern to every Canadian and not to French Canadians alone. The low wage level, the intolerably low standard of public education and social services, the high rate of infant mortality, the high death rate from tuberculosis are but evidence of the conditions created by the systematic economic discrimination from which the workers, farmers and lower middle class people of the towns and cities, suffer in the province of Quebec. Correction of this situation is a national duty. Leadership in its correction should come from the Dominion Government.

There is a rising consciousness of these evils and their causes in Quebec. There is striking growth of the trade union movement in Quebec and there are numerous indications of mass political revolt in that province.

The danger to the people of Quebec and to the prospects for strengthened national unity, lies in the fact that in their

**French Canada Is a Problem  
For all Canada**

desire for improvement, masses of the people of Quebec are turning towards the Bloc Populaire — the leaders of which are pursuing a line dangerously similar to the line followed by the leaders of all fascist movements in their early stages.



Those men and women in both French and English-speaking Canada who realize the need for national unity around policies in accord with the Teheran agreement must accept a serious responsibility towards the masses in French Canada. The majority of the rank and file following of the Bloc Populaire is composed of honest men and women who desire progressive social change. Thousands of them are attracted to the Bloc by its demagogic emphasis upon the shameful economic conditions in Quebec. The best way to win the support of these tens of thousands of earnest men and women for policies of national unity is to unite the labor and people's movements in English and French Canada in the struggle to bring about correction of the national grievances of French Canada.

National policies based upon the Teheran agreement must abolish the economic and social inequalities in Quebec and correct the national grievances of French Canada.

## IX. It Can Be Done.

**I**S THERE any question that all the things proposed above can be done? No serious public man will deny that they can and will be done if progressive forces are united.

Some spokesmen of Tory reaction have intimated that it would cost too much money. Mr. Arthur Meighen told a public meeting in Vancouver some months ago that such proposals are to be deplored. He declared that what present-day Canadians need most of all is to learn the lessons of hard work, honesty and thrift. In that sentence Mr. Meighen has compressed the real social program of that section of the Tories that he represents. But there are thousands of members of the Progressive Conservative Party who do not agree with Arthur Meighen. The men and women who looked to the Port Hope Program as the future program of their party, want the Party to fight for social reform. They will support policies looking to post-war co-operation and mutual aid. These "young Tories" can, if they become seized with the tremendous significance of present day developments, become the decisive section of the Progressive Conservative Party.

The people of Canada are in no mood for policies such as advocated by Arthur Meighen. The widespread character of the demand for social security legislation may be

judged by the fact that Mackenzie King was impelled to appoint a government economist to prepare a report on what it would cost.

It is true that social security for every Canadian will require a lot of money. Until 1939 the Dominion government and every bank president in Canada would have declared categorically that Canada could not possibly

**The Real Wealth of Canada  
Is in Our Production**

afford it. But, in addition to the fact that countries not nearly so rich as Canada are finding it possible, *the war has shown that we were right in those days and they were wrong.* The war has proved the correctness of our argument that the real wealth of Canada lies in our capacity to produce. If we have the labor power, the raw materials and the machines and equipment required, the medium of exchange with which to finance production can be provided. If we maintain a high level of economic activity, we can maintain the national income. With the national income maintained at approximately the same level as today, and no longer the need to spend five thousand million dollars per year upon war, the burden of financing social security will be relatively light.

The central need is national unity, embracing sections of all classes, around policies based upon the possibilities opened up at Teheran. The basis for such unity exists, not only in the possibilities for a high level of economic activity and employment but also in the possibilities for far-reaching social reforms. Jobs, security and social progress: these are the things which all progressive people want. It is the desire for these things and the belief that we can achieve them now that is drawing together the men and women in the trade union movement, in the Labor-Progressive Party and the CCF. It is this fact on the background of objective conditions which determines that the real issue *we shall have to decide at the end of the war will not be "Socialism or Capitalism", but "Social Progress or Reaction".* National policies based upon the possibilities created at Teheran will provide jobs, the basis for continued growth of the trade union movement and advanced measures of social reform. Failure to adopt such policies will involve Canada in mass unemployment, ruthless wage-cutting and conditions even worse than those which prevailed for ten years before the war.

## X. The False Issue of "Socialism vs. Free Enterprise".

ONE of the major obstacles to national unity around policies calculated to solve the problem of jobs and security in the spirit of the Teheran agreement is the false issue of "Socialism vs. Free Enterprise".

Reactionary forces seize upon this false issue. They dare not come out openly against the prospect of economic progress through mutual aid. They dare not come out openly against measures to maintain jobs. They dare not deny the need to maintain the national income. They dare not oppose the principle of adequate social security. Therefore they seek to sharpen and deepen division and class antagonisms by pressing the issue of "Socialism vs. Free Enterprise".

The leaders of the CCF play into the hands of the reactionaries by their prophecies of economic chaos, their description of their own program of reforms as "Socialism", by their declarations that they will introduce "socialist planning" if they are elected and their supposed plan to "socialize the country" province by province.

The leaders of the CCF adopt the position that when the war is over Canada will, almost automatically, revert back to the conditions of 1939—or worse. They reject the possibility of providing full employment for the people under capitalism. They reject the possibility of the workers winning far-reaching social reforms. They assert that the only alternative to economic chaos and fascism or near fascism is "socialist planning".

They are completely mistaken. Their general attitude and proposal would be justified only if capitalism were on the verge of collapse in Canada. It is not on the verge of collapse, and there is no evidence to suggest that it will be at the end of the war. The attitude of the leaders of the CCF is fatalistic. Their prognostications of economic chaos after the war are a denial of the realities of the situation. Concurrently, their practice of placing every proposal in

**Fatalistic Attitude of  
CCF Leaders Is Wrong**

the setting of their supposed plan to introduce "socialist planning" weakens the popular pressure for social reforms. It tends to isolate the minority whereas what is needed are policies and proposals which will help to unite all those who are for democratic reforms and isolate the reactionaries.

Establishment of Socialism is not an immediate issue in Canada; it will not be in the immediate post-war period. *Certain specific objective conditions must exist to make the question of Socialism an immediate issue and they do not as yet exist in Canada.* Furthermore, and mainly because the objective conditions have not yet developed, the majority of Canadians are not yet ready to support a fundamental transformation of the national economy. There is a growing body of progressive opinion in favor of nationalizing the banks and for measures to curb the monopolies. It is probable that there will be an extension of public ownership during the reconstruction period as indicated by the recent nationalization of the Eldorado radium mine at Great Bear Lake, the extension of government banking through setting up of the Industrial Development Bank and the proposal of the Quebec provincial government to take over all electric power plants. None of these measures constitute socialism. On the contrary they are the continuation of policies followed by both Liberal and Conservative parties for forty years past.

A careful study of political trends in Canada, especially as expressed in the labor movement and among farmers and

**Only a Small Minority  
Want Socialism**

urban middle class people, shows that only a relatively small minority are, as yet, prepared to support abolition of the profit system. The overwhelming majority of our people still believe it is possible to secure social reforms which will guarantee them social security and a measure of prosperity without abolishing capitalist relationships in the productive processes. That fact, on the background of the existing objective conditions makes it clear that the issue of national policy in Canada is "Social Progress versus Reaction" not "Socialism versus Capitalism."

Thus, while it is true that Socialism would enable us to produce even more than we are producing now, and to utilize it all by raising the standard of living, declarations that we are going to have "Socialist Planning" after the

next Dominion election do not lead Canada towards a happy solution of our problems. On the contrary; they tend to divide the forces which should be united in the struggle for democratic progress.

The foregoing facts make it necessary to give voice to frank criticism of the anti-unity, anti-United Nations, anti-Soviet propaganda spread by some spokesmen of the CCF. We have tried consistently to bring about a measure of co-operation between ourselves and the CCF. We shall con-

### **Cynical Defeatism**

### **Endangers National Unity**

continue to do so. Such relationships would make it possible for the left-wing forces to exert some democratic influence upon CCF policies by mutual discussion. Regrettably, the leadership of the CCF rejects all proposals in this direction. They tend to make the CCF an anti-United Nations force as well as an anti-unity force in Canadian politics. Their official journals carry a continuous stream of anti-United Nations innuendo. Their semi-official theoretical organ, the Canadian Forum, questions the decisions of the Teheran Conference, and the role of Stalin in that conference in such terms as the following:

"They used to call Stalin 'the Sphynx of the Kremlin'. Perhaps the air of mystery that has always clung to the great Georgian proved infectious, and spread to the other members of the triumvirate. . . ."

"Even the famous 'leaks' which caused such a stir in communication circles only served to darken the impenetrable cloud of secrecy in which the great chess game was played out. We in the valleys can do little but trust and—obey; our fate is in others' keeping. Nevertheless, from countless puzzled hearts the cry arises: Surely, some day, we shall learn how to shape our future in a manner that does not place such terrible demands upon the wisdom of three ageing men".

The editorial then quotes the hope expressed in the Teheran agreement that a peace will be established which will "banish the scourge of war for many generations . . ."

with the supercilious editorial comment: "For many generations, only that?"

Such cynical defeatism can only give satisfaction to enemies of United Nations unity and post-war national unity in Canada. It is a disservice to the working class.

Mr. Coldwell, the national leader of the CCF, aligns himself with that sneering attitude towards United Nations' unity and the historic Teheran conference by oblique references to Soviet policy as the "new imperialism" and by posing as a defender of the interests of the small nations against Soviet aims.

The attitude of the CCF leaders is in opposition to the entire concept of friendly co-operation and mutual aid in the reconstruction of the world after the war. It is an attitude of hostility to the prospect of the great socialist state playing a leading role in the reshaping of the world. This is contrary to the interests of Canada, to the interests of the working class. Cultivation of hostility to the Soviet Union or to its great leader, Premier Stalin, weakens the unity of the United Nations. It sows distrust, suspicion and cynical superciliousness towards the entire vista of co-operation between the socialist and capitalist states during the years of post-war reconstruction. The fact that the CCF is bidding for governmental power in the next Dominion elections makes this a matter of concern to the entire labor movement.

There is strong possibility of a Dominion election this year. The government placed in power as a result of that election will be the government which controls Canada's national life and initiates Canada's national policies throughout the early post-war years. It will probably determine the direction of our national development for a generation. It is our duty to point out to every member of the CCF that he or she must share the responsibility for bringing about policies which will make possible the united action of all progressive forces. We must call upon every member of the CCF, who sincerely desires to see the CCF become a constructive force in the general struggle for human progress, to do what he or she can to bring about a change in these policies expressed by the leaders of the CCF.

## XI. The Labor Movement and National Policy.

THE Teheran agreement places a heavy responsibility on the leadership of the trade union movement. Trade unionists welcomed the promises of sorely-needed social legislation in the speech from the Throne. While incomplete, the program of legislation in the speech included the promise of several measures which the labor movement has urged for years past and which have been achieved in many other countries.

This is not to suggest that the trade union movement can be completely satisfied with the speech. *It contained no proposal or promise which commits the Government to enactment of a fully democratic national labor code.* It is generally feared that the collective bargaining bill which the Government is preparing will cover only war industries and will fall far short of meeting the needs of labor there. Such a bill will be totally inadequate.\* Furthermore, the fact that family allowances are proposed as a means of supplementing iniquitous provisions of the Wage Consolidation Order P.C. 9384, in maintaining sub-standard wage levels, can only deepen the widespread doubt as to the possibility of securing adequate trade union legislation from the King Government, unless the government makes drastic changes in its policies and attitude towards labor.

The pressing task confronting trade union leadership in Canada is that of developing systematic joint activity to induce the Government to introduce progressive labor legislation. P.C. 9384 is a good example of this need.

**Wage Order PC 9384  
Denies Labor's Rights**

As promulgated, that order is contrary to the essence of the voluminous evidence submitted to the National Inquiry that almost half of Canada's workers receive wages definitely and admittedly too low to provide for a decent standard of existence. A universal proposal put forward

\* Since this report was delivered the new Labor Code has been announced. It is considerably more satisfactory to Labor than forecasts had suggested. This is an obvious sign that public pressure was effective.

in every brief submitted by the labor movement was for the payment of the full cost of living bonus to these workers. The measures introduced in P.C. 9384 are just the contrary. Another point emphasized in a majority of the briefs submitted was the need to abolish the wage freezing regulations from wages below fifty cents per hour. On this point also P.C. 9384 proposed action exactly contrary to the urgent representations of the labor movement.

How did it happen that such anti-labor regulations should follow the inquiry? It was, in the main, because in spite of the knowledge that powerful pressure was being exerted by reactionary employers, the trade union movement failed to maintain sufficient united action on this issue. The CCF divided progressive political forces; on the left by its anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda and on the right by its pretentious but irresponsible propaganda about "Socialism now!" The result was that Mackenzie King, feeling the pressure of increased activity on the part of reactionary forces, and not being subjected to sufficient pressure from the progressive forces, enacted an order-in-

**Unity of Trade Union  
Movement Necessary**

council slapping the face of the labor movement and reassuring big business on the question of the Government's wage policy. But, as workers realized the meaning of the Order, a storm of protest broke out, compelling Liberal M.P.'s to denounce the Order also. As a result of that Mackenzie King gave way and informed the mass delegation representing the C.C.L. that the Order will be amended. It provides a perfect illustration of the need for unceasing vigilance and systematic public pressure. It shows, also, that concessions can be secured if public pressure is properly applied.

*The trade union movement can influence national policy to a far greater extent than is usually recognized. Its influence*

**For Farmers**



"... The farmers want government policies to provide them with a fair chance to make a decent living. They want adequate prices for farm products..."

(See page 28)



in national policies has increased to a marked extent during the war. Any doubt on this score is quickly dissipated by a review of the changing character of labor legislation, Dominion and Provincial, or by the contrast between, say, the national inquiry into wages and Labor relations held in Ottawa last year and the Mather Commission in 1919.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized, the possibilities for strengthening labor's influence are great. Labor has played an honorable and decisive role in the struggle for war production. The trade unions have accepted wartime regulations including wage-freezing, job freezing, and other measures. They have accepted these measures, often in the face of Government and employer provocation, while their membership has been doubled.

**Trade Unions Can Influence  
Future of Canada**

That fact is perhaps the best testimony to the earnest will of the majority of trade unionists to subordinate their own immediate interests and opportunities for advantage to the need to win the war. In doing these things labor has made a marked contribution to national unity.

These things have raised the status of the trade union movement in the nation. Its members and their families now total almost a fourth of our population. By united action the trade unions can become a powerful force in the interests of the nation.

The trade union movement has serious reasons to exercise its full influence now. The prospects of lay-offs from war industries, the need for government-labor co-operation in transfer of workers from war to civilian employment, the pressing need to ensure Government-labor co-operation in the re-establishment of the men and women from the armed forces in civil life, the need for the trade union movement to help formulate national policies which will guarantee opportunities for our youth, these are but typical examples of the numerous problems which will require exercise of all the influence of the trade union movement.

The future of trade unionism in Canada is closely linked up with the Teheran agreement. If Canada adopts national policies in accord with it, prospects for continued growth of the trade unions are bright. If Canada fails to adopt policies in accord with the perspective opened at Teheran, prospects

for the trade union movement in the post-war years will be dark. A high level of employment, maintenance of wage levels, progressive social legislation and general social progress in the post-war years, depends entirely upon the extent to which Canada adopts policies in accord with the spirit of the Teheran agreement.

National prosperity through mutual aid in rebuilding the liberated countries and Canadian participation as a sov-

**Trade Unions Vital in  
Building National Unity**

vereign state in a world association of sovereign states is a national aim. It can be achieved only if all democratic forces in the country are united in support of it. The trade union movement can play a vital role in bringing about such unity of progressive forces. By playing a positive role in the fight for such policies, based on the perspective opened at Teheran, the trade union movement can become a vital force in the maintaining of national unity and prosperity after the war.

Finally, the trade union movement in Canada is faced with an opportunity to help establish labor unity on an international scale. The British trade union council is calling a conference of representatives of all the national trade union centres of the United Nations. The possibilities enhanced in this proposal are almost immeasurable. The importance of the forthcoming conference may be estimated by the C.I.O. announcement that ten of its most outstanding representatives—including its President, Philip Murray, are going to London in June to attend the conference.

The London conference may be the beginning of a new and mighty movement, mobilizing world labor in support of the Teheran agreement and national policies in accord with it. In that case the Conference may lead to the unity of all the trade unions of the United Nations in a great new labor international. Such a development would signalize and symbolize labor's participation in the rebuilding of the world in the spirit of the Teheran agreement. The trade union movement in Canada cannot stand aside from this historic development. Its leadership should be urged to guide the activities of the movement towards the struggle for national unity in support of progressive policies at home and international unity in support of the Teheran agreement on a world scale as Canadian labor's contribution to the building of a new world.

## XII. The Party of the Working Class.

**T**HE question has been raised as to whether the perspective of socialist-capitalist co-operation, national unity and orderly progress, opened up by the Teheran agreement calls for the dissolution of the Labor-Progressive Party.

*The answer to that question is no! National unity around policies in accord with the Teheran agreement will not eliminate the historical necessity for organization of those who are dedicated to the struggle for the principles of scientific socialism.*

The trend of development is towards tremendous and far-reaching change. Precisely because of that fact and the increasingly important role that the labor movement must play in shaping national policies Canada needs a party based firmly upon understanding of the historic role of the working class—a party which has no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole and, now more than at any previous period in our history, the interests of the working people represent the best interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, the highest interests of the nation.

The Canadian working class needs a Marxist party to guard against the insidious danger of uncharted dependence upon the pressure of events.

**Why do the Workers**

**Need a Marxist Party?**

Varying and transitory changes generate moods of radicalism or depression among the masses. Understanding of the significance of such moods is essential but dependence upon them prevents the development of independent working-class consciousness. The workers need a Marxist party to free themselves of the influence of capitalist ideology, to combat the fallacies of pseudo-socialist propaganda, and to imbue ever-widening circles of working people with understanding of the principles of scientific socialism.

Modern socialist consciousness and understanding can grow only on the basis of profound scientific understanding of social forces and the laws of historical development. A

scientific socialist party is essential to imbue the working class with conscious understanding of its role in present day society, its interests as a class in the possibilities opened up at Teheran, and the meaning of the qualitative change now taking place in the significance of Socialist policies in world politics as a whole.

The Teheran agreement opens up the perspective of a transformed Europe and fundamental changes in the Far East.

Now, more than ever before, class conscious Canadians need a party which, in the various stages of development which the struggle for Socialism has to pass through, always and everywhere represents the interests of the working class as a whole. Now more than ever the Canadian working class needs a party which, while defending its every interest today guards its future interest also. Such a party is our Party, the Labor-Progressive Party.

But, it is sometimes asked, why couldn't the Labor-Progressives cease to operate as a political party and become an educational association as is being proposed to its members by the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

The answer to that question is also, No. The chief reason for that proposal in the United States is, precisely, the exceptional situation which exists there with regard to political party relationships, election laws, etc. Those conditions do not exist in Canada.

We have five political parties submitting proposals to the people, competing for public support, nominating candidates for municipal, provincial and Dominion offices. Ninety per cent of the people judge these parties entirely on the basis of their parliamentary activity—to a very large extent they are judged by the amount of support their

### **The L.P.P.**

"... Above all, however, our movement has become the embodiment of the struggle for the development of working class unity. The struggle for working class unity is the essence of the historical struggle of the working class. The struggle for working class unity in support of national unity, today and for the post-war period, is an essential part of the historical effort of the working class to participate in the leadership of the nations. . ." (See page 46)

### **Should L-PP Abandon Electoral Activity?**

candidates receive at the polls and the work of their elected representatives.

For us to abandon electoral activity would be to abandon this, presently the most important, field of political action. It would be to withdraw from the field of action where millions are engaged to concentrate upon a field where we could only hope to reach thousands and then not in the way which they feel affects their lives as electoral activity does. It is clear that, in Canada, the struggle to win the masses for scientific socialism can be carried on best by a political party—the Labor-Progressive Party.

History has vindicated and is continually vindicating our Party.

In view of the deep interest in the Teheran agreement and the sharp change that it has brought about in world perspectives it is interesting to draw attention to the fact that our national convention held in Toronto last August looked forward to such a development and even wrote its confidence based upon understanding, into the Party program in the following paragraphs:

### **The Fight for Democratic Progress in the Post-war Years**

“With the defeat of the Hitlerite Axis, Canada will enter a crucial post-war period. Out of the people’s war will come a people’s victory. The essence of that victory will be the removal of the threat of Axis domination and the consequent removal of the threat of war, and the turning of the people’s attention to the reconstruction of a peace-time Canada.

### **For Peace in the World**

“The Atlantic Charter guarantees the right of each people to determine its own government, free from outside interference and repudiates the conquest of one nation’s territory by another. Upon the principles of this charter a new peace-time system of friendly collaboration can be constructed. The alternative to this is another and more terrible war.

“The Labor-Progressive Party declares its support of the Atlantic Charter. It must be ap-

plied to all nations, including the colonies. The Party declares that the application of the Charter requires the acceptance of the principle of the full right of self-determination for all nations. We oppose all forms of national oppression and the exploitation of colonial peoples.

"The pillage of other nations is abhorrent to the Canadian people. They desire to live at peace with all other peoples. Equally they are opposed to the attempt by any nation which seeks to conquer or subjugate another. They sympathize with the desire of the people of India and the other colonies to be free. They desire the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist states of the world with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and any other country whose people choose to establish a socialist economy and state.

"These grand concepts of a peaceful post-war world can be realized and guaranteed only by the continuing friendship and co-operation of those nations who have become allied in the United Nations.

"The Labor-Progressive Party warns the people of Canada that peace can be secured for our children only by the full enactment of these principles of morality between the nations, and that the utmost vigilance, strength and united pressure of the labor movement of Canada and all other countries will be required to defeat the conspiracies of reaction to thwart the desires of the peoples for peace."

The history of our movement is a history of the struggle for social progress in Canada during the past twenty-four years. Through these struggles our movement has become the most consistent as well as the most outstanding champion of French-English unity through abolition of the inequalities now imposed upon the French-Canadian people. Through these struggles our movement has become the most consistent as well as the most energetic champion of the interests of the youth. Through these struggles our movement has become a recognized

***Guards Interests of Farmers  
and Urban Middle Class***

champion of the interests of the farmers and of the urban middle class people.

Above all, however, our movement has become the embodiment of the struggle for the development of working-class unity. The struggle for working-class unity is the essence of the historical struggle of the working class. The struggle for working-class unity, in support of national unity, today and for the post-war period, is an essential part of the historical effort of the working-class to participate in the leadership of the nation. The working class needs our Party today to help find the correct path through the complicated and changing political situations which we know are ahead.

We are the party which, guided by scientific socialist understanding, helps guide the working-class movement in fulfillment of its tasks in the struggle for progress.

We are the party which stands unequivocally and unshakably for United Nations unity and common action. We are the party which brings forward a full policy of national unity, based upon the needs and interests of Canada. We are the only party which recognizes the historical role of the Socialist Soviet

**For Peace, Prosperity and  
Democratic Progress!**

Union in the family of democratic nations. We are the party which works for that bond of democratic understanding which enables the progressive forces to act as a unifying force in the nation. I need only refer to the truly national role that we played in the battle for Production, in the Plebiscite, in the Fight for Labor Partnership, in the Fight for French-English Canadian Unity, in the Fight for democratic national unification, in the fight for better treatment of Canada's youth.

We have a vital job to do. That job is to show the people of Canada the glowing possibilities opened up at Teheran, the sombre alternative which faces us if we fail to carry through policies in accord with the Teheran agreement, and the measures upon which it is possible to maintain national unity. Our members who have been elected to public office will bring this forward at every opportunity. All of us will strive to see that the job is done.

*Our fight, today, is for policies. We will judge parties and individuals by their attitude towards such policies. When a Dominion election is held, we shall strive to ensure that the*

government elected is the one which provides the best assurance that it will carry through policies in accord with the Teheran agreement—policies of social progress and full employment at home on the basis of international co-operation and mutual aid in repairing the devastation abroad.

We of the Labor-Progressive Party will fight for such a policy and give support to any government which carries it through. We are sure that the overwhelming majority of Canadians will realize, as a result of their own experience, that the path that was opened at Teheran is the path by which mankind can march forward: to lasting peace, post-war prosperity and democratic progress to a better life.





